Message Text

PAGE 01 VIENNA 09852 291501Z

44

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SECRET VIENNA 9852

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS - FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING 28 NOVEMBER 1973

1. SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP MET NOV 28 UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF NORWEGIAN REP (VAERNO). US DISTRIBUTED REPORT OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN US DEPREP AND KVITSINSKIY OF SOVIET DEL (SEPTEL). IN LIGHT OF REPORT OF BELGIAN REP (ANDRIAENSSEN) THAT POLISH REP (STRULAK) INSISTED ON TWO PLENARIES WEEK OF DECEMBER 2 BECAUSE EAST NEEDS FOUR MORE MEETINGS, AHG AGREED TO REMAIN SILENT AT ONE MEETING DESPITE CONTRARY ADVICE OF US REP RATHER THAN SPREAD MATERIAL PLANNED FOR TWO SESSIONS OVER THREE SESSIONS. AHG AGREED TO CONVENE WORKING GROUP AT 0930 ON NOV 29TH TO PREPARE OUTLINE OF DECEMBER 5 PRESENTATION FOR REVIEW BY AHG AT AFTERNOON SESSION ON NOVEMBER 29TH. WORKING GROUP WILL ALSO UNDERTAKE REVIEW OF DRAFT REPORT FOR NATO MINISTERS AND REPORT SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 09852 291501Z

WHICH UK REP (ROSE) WILL DELIVER ORALLY TO NAC ON DECEMBER 3. END SUMMARY.

2. PLENARY MEETINGS. BELGIAN REP REPORTED CONVERSATION WITH

POLICH REP IN WHICH BELGIAN REP ASKED FOR ONE PLENARY WEEK OF DECEMBER 2. POLISH REP INSISTED THAT EAST WANTED TWO PLENARIES NEXT WEEK BECAUSE EAST HAS FOUR MORE SPEECHES TO DELIVER. BELGIAN REP REPORTED AGREEMENT ON PLENARY FOR DECEMBER 5 AS ALLIES WANT, BUT WARNED THAT WE CAN EXPECT REQUEST FROM EASTERN SIDE FOR ANOTHER PLENARY NEXT WEEK. US REP COMMENTED THAT SOVIET REP HAD ALSO VOICED CONCERN TO HIM AFTER MORNING PLENARY OVER GIVING APPEARANCE OF SLACKING OFF PACE. US REP REMARKED THAT ALLIES REALLY HAD TWO CHOICES IF THERE HAD TO BE FOUR PLENARIES: (A) ALLIES COULD SIT AND SAY NOTHING WITH ATTENDANT PHYCHOLOGICAL DISADVANTAGE, OR (B) SPLIT THE MATERIAL PLANNED FOR THE NEXT TWO SESSIONS INTO THREE SPEECHES. HE FAVORED THE LATTER AND DISTRIBUTED AN OUTLINE OF HOW THIS MIGHT BE DONE. IN SUBSEQUENT DEBATE, GENERAL OPPOSITION WAS EXPRESSED TO US PROPOSAL ON BASIS THAT MATERIAL WOULD BE SPREAD TOO THIN. BELGIAN, NETHERLANDS, GREEK AND CANADIAN REPS SPOKE IN FAVOR OF REMAINING SILENT AT ONE SESSION. IT WAS AGREED THAT, IF THE EAST CONTINUED TO REQUEST TWO PLENARIES DURING WEEK OF DECEMBER 2, ALLIES WOULD REMAIN SILENT AT SECOND PLENARY

3. BILATERAL CONTACTS. US REP DISTRIBUTED ACCOUNT OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN US DEPREP AND SOVIET DEL OFFICER KVITSINSKIY (SEPTEL) IN WHICH KVITSINSKIY INDICATED SOME WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER FIRST PHASE OF REDUCTIONS FOCUSSING ON US/SOVIET FORCES WITH EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS POSTPONED FOR A SECOND PHASE. US DEPREP SAID THAT THIS IDEA NOW BEGINS TO TAKE ON SOME WIEGHT IN LIGHT OF OTHER INDICATIONS FROM SOVIETS. IT WAS ALSO EVIDENT THAT THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION WAS VERY SENSITIVE WITH KVITSINSKIY. SOVIET REACTION TO THIS THEME RAISED THE QUESTION OF HOW DESIRABLE IT REALLY WAS FOR ALLIES TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO PUSH THIS THEME AT THE SOVIETS. ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER SUCH CONTINUING EMPHASIS WOULD NOT INTENSIFY SOVIET DEMANDS FOR SPECIFICS ON PHASE II WHICH ALLIES WANT TO AVOID. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY FROM ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) AS TO WHETHER KVITSINSKIY REFERRED TO COMMON CEILING IN TERMS OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES, US DEPREP COMMENTED THAT KVITSINSKIY SEEMED TO FOCUS ON AIR MANPOWER RATHER THAN AIR-SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 09852 291501Z

CRAFT. FRG REP INJECTED THAT IT ALL BOILED DOWN TO FACT THAT IF ONE ADDS GROUND AND AIR FORCES TOGETHER, TOTALS ARE CLOSER TOGETHER. FRG REP (BEHRENDS) REPORTED CONVERSATION WITH KVITSINSKIY FOLLOWING NOVEMBER 28 PLENARY IN WHICH KVITSINSKIY SAID THAT IN ORDER TO AGREE TO FOCUS ON US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS, SOVIETS REQUIRE A "PACKAGE" ON THE CONTENTS AND TIMING OF PHASE II, INCLUDING A SPECIFIC DATE FOR THE START OF PHASE II. FRG REP HAD REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD TEND TO PRODUCE SOMETHING MUCH LIKE THE COMPLETE PACKAGE WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE ADVANCED. US DEPREP COMMENTED THAT ALLIED OBJECTIVE IS TO GET SOME AGREEMENT WITH EAST ON WHERE TO START DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS. SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY NOT AGREE IN ADVANCE TO DISCUSS THE ALLIED PACKAGE IN ITS ENTIRETY; THEREFORE ALLIES MUST SEEK TO GET THE

DIALOGUE GOING ON A SPECIFIC PART, E.G., FOCUS ON US/USSR
SHOULD RECEIVE PRIMARY ATTENTION. US DEPREP AGREED, AND SUGGESTED
THAT ALLIED COMMENT SHOULD FOCUS ON LIMITED AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF
NEED FOR GETTING NEGOTIATIONS IN TRAIN ON BASIS OF ADDRESSING SPECIFIC

SUBJECT, RATHER THAN SELLING WHOLE ALLIED PHASE I PROGRAM AT ONE SHOT. ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO CUT BACK SOVIET EFFORTS TO SELL THEIR WHOLE PROGRAM AT OUTSET BY SAYING ONLY THING UP FOR DISCUSSION NOW IS TO FOCUS ON POINT WHERE MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION WILL BEGIN.

4. AHG REPORT TO NATO MINISTERS. CHAIRMAN THEN CALLED FOR COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT AHG REPORT. THE US DISTRIBUTED AN ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE KHLESTOV STATEMENT AT THE NOVEMBER 28 PLENARY. THE NETHERLANDS REP NOTED THAT PARA. 15 OF THE KHLESTOV STATEMENT (SENT SEPTEL) IMPLIED AN EFFECTIVE CEILING ON EUROPEAN FORCES, AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE NOTED IN THE REPORT. HE ADDED THAT EUROPEAN ALLIES MUST RESIST ANY

PRESSURES TO GET INVOLVED IN PHASE I. THE GERMAN REP NOTED THAT KHLESTOV HAD INTRODUCED A NEW ARGUMENT BY SAYING THAT US-SOVIET GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS ALONE WOULD LEAD TO INCREASES IN AIR AND EUROPEAN NATIONAL FORCES. THE US REP FELT THIS WAS A NATURAL COMMENT IN THE LIGHT OF SALT. A POSSIBLE ALLIED RESPONSE AT AN APPROPRIATE LATER TIME WOULD BE TO REFER THIS PROBLEM TO NON-CIRCUMVENTION MEASURES, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY DRAFTED TO PROTECT NATO FORCES IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS. THE ITALIAN REP ARGUED THE PROBLEM OF LINKAGE TO THE SECOND PHASE SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 09852 291501Z

WAS GOING TO BE CENTRAL. AND THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT DEPART FROM AGREED LANGUAGE, EVEN IN BILATERAL CONTACTS. THE GERMAN REP FELT IT WAS NECESSARY TO AVOID BEING SPECIFIC ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE SECOND PHASE, BUT BELIEVED THAT THE ALLIES COULD BE MORE DEFINITE ABOUT LINKAGE. THE UK REP AGREED WITH THE ITALIAN REP AND ANNOUNCED HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED NOT TO AGREE TO THIS POINT IN TIME TO LANGUAGE GOING BEYOND PARA. 10 OF THE OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS. (COMMENT: UK REP TOLD US REP BILATERALLY THAT LONDON HAD ASKED HIM TO GO EASY FOR THE TIME BEING WITH REGARD TO FORMULAE IN VIENNA'S 9720 UNTIL THEY CAN BE GIVEN MORE STUDY AND COMMENT.) CONCERNING THE FORMAT OF THE DRAFT AHG REPORT. THE UK REP EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE FOR AN INTRODUCTORY SECTION THAT WOULD HIGHLIGHT THE CNETRAL ISSUES AROUND WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD FOCUS IN THE NEXT MONTHS AND WOULD PROVIDE A SUMMARY EVALUATION OF THEM. THIS WAS AGREED AND THE DRAFT WAS RMANDED TO THE DRAFTING GROUP.HUMES

SECRET

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